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THE EDITORS

DUMQUE, DUNQUE, DUNC, DONC

In the Latin inscriptions of the Empire are found several instances of a temporal conjunction dunc, which Zimmermann¹, Brugmann² and others consider a byform of donec. The examples are as follows: Ne metuas Lethen, nam stultum est tempore et omni Dunc mortem metuas, amittere gaudia vitae. C I L, VI 11252.

Dunc haec agerentur, juvenes de subito acceperunt sui luctu(m) parentes. VI 18086.

Fruere, dunc vita data est. VI 19683.

Ad tu ne propera simili qui sorte teneris

Dunc annos titulo nomina ut ipse legas. VI 25063.

Aspecto paulum tumulo subsiste viator

Nescis (noscis?) dunc vitae tempora parva meae.

IX 4810.

In the three other passages — III 1903, 8425; XII 629 — the text is too corrupt to be of much significance.

Since the French donc, Italian dunque point back to a late Latin dunc or dunque, some of the grammarians of the Romance languages,³ have not hesitated to accept this dunc found in inscriptions as the missing link connecting Latin donec with Romance dunc and dunque. Other authorities⁴ have admitted the difficulty of connecting donec and dunque with donec, donique, but have reluctantly accepted that etymology for lack of a better one.

It is noteworthy that the only definite arguments given by these writers, who represent the latest and generally accepted doctrine, are those which mili-

¹ Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie. IX p 591: "Die aus donec erst in der Kaiserzeit entstandene Form dunc, die bis jetzt nur aus den Inschriften belegt ist, habe ich noch an zwei Stellen auf Inschriften gefunden, so dass die Gesamtzahl sich nunmehr auf 8 beläuft, von denen 4 auf die Stadt kommen."

² Grundriss der vergl Gram; I p 149: "nuncupo aus *nom(i)capo durch die Zwischenstufe *noncapo, entsprechend dunc (auf Inschriften der Kaiserzeit) aus donec."

³ Meyer-Lübke, Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen, Leipzig, 1899, III § 483: "Allerdings nicht zu übersehen ist, dass sich unter den Neubildungen solche finden, die schon in die lateinische Zeit hinaufreichen und nur vielleicht zufällig nicht belegt sind. Das gilt z. B. von *dunque, das Ital. dunque, Fr. donc zu grunde liegt, und das sich zu dem im Lat. nur inschriftlich überlieferten, der sonstigen Litteratur aber ebenfalls fehlenden dunc verhält wie atque zu ac."

Jules Pirson, La Langue des Inscriptions de la Gaule, Bruxelles, 1901, p 252: "C'est de cette conjonction vulgaire (dunc) plutöt que de donique, que dérivent, avec la valeur d'adverbes, le Fr. donc, donc(ques), le prov. donc-s, le rhétor. dunc, le catal. doncs."

⁴ Gröber, Archiv, II 104: "Es wird (donec) durchweg nur als adverbium gebraucht; donique ist, wie donec, aber nur als Konjunktion bekannt. Dass nun in den rom. Sprachen je eine Konjunktion zum Adverbium geworden wäre, ist meines wissens und auch in anderen Sprachen, ohne Beispiel . . . An dem lat. donique als Grundform für die rom.

tate against the theory proposed, and a comparison of late Latin with early French and Italian leads one to suspect that the connection between donec and donc, dunque is merely one of accidental similarity of form. The Romance languages point back to an earlier dumque or dunque and this might possibly have come from donique, the early form of donec. There are, however, many grave objections to this etymology. In the first place, it is phonetically improbable that donec, the common form in classical and late Latin, would be replaced in Italian by the archaic form donique > dunque. The natural tendency would be toward a shorter form like French donc. More serious and practically irrefutable objections are found in the semasiology and syntax. The regular meaning of donec, thru it all Latini⁵ is "so long as" or "until," with a purely temporal sense. In the Romance adverbs donc, dunque the causal, explicative, and expletive forces predominate, while the temporal idea is secondary or merely casual, if present at all.⁶ Finally, as Gröber has remarked, donec and dunque are used only as adverbs, while donec and donique occur in extant Latin only as conjunctions; and altho most conjunctions are developed from adverbs, the opposite course of development is practically unknown.

Despite these inevitable difficulties in deriving donc, dunque from donec, many have accepted that explanation, either without question, or believing with Gröber that "kein näher liegendes Etymon sich darbietet".

One naturally wonders why dum, which is favored by all the facts which militate against donec, was not considered the ancestor of these temporal adverbs. Its use as an adverb is very common in all periods, especially in colloquial language, and veni dum approximates closely the meaning of viens donc. The difficulty lay in explaining the final guttural in the Romance particles. To say it was by analogy with tunc and nunc, (as suggested in a recent French lexicon,⁷ which connects donc with

dunque, dunc u. s. w., wird man aber darum festhalten müssen, weil die Verbreitung des Wortes über das gesamte rom. Sprachgebiet eine Entlehnung aus fremden Sprachen nicht zu denken gestattet, weil die den rom. Sprachen gemeinsamen Partikeln sämtlich der lat. Sprache entstammen, und weil kein näher liegendes Etymon sich darbietet".

Körting, Lateinisch-Romanische Wörterbuch, Paderborn, 1901: "Für endgültig entschieden darf indessen die Herkunftsfrage des ital. dunque etc., auch jetzt noch nicht erachtet werden. Zum mindesten dürfte auch gegenwärtig noch die Annahme erlaubt sein, dass der Gebrauch der romanischen Partikeln das Ergebnis begrifflicher Mischungen ist, wie Förster dies ganz mit Recht behauptet hat. Es scheinen in dunque etc. begrifflich mit einander gemengt zu sein donique, denique, tunc, und vielleicht auch de-unde = frz. dont".

⁵ Meyer-Lübke, Gram III § 558: "Aehnliche Wege wie post ist dunc gegangen. Ursprünglich temporal hat es im Italienischen und Französischen diese alte Bedeutung ganz aufgegeben und ist rein folgernd geworden".

⁶ Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française, Hatzfeld et Darmesteter, Paris, 1900: "Donc et, vieille, *donques,

dum) seemed an inadequate explanation, and this objection was deemed sufficient for attributing to donec even the dunc-clauses quoted above from the C. I. L. The meaning "while" and the explicative use of the conjunction—functions characteristic of dum and foreign to donec—seem to have been entirely disregarded by those who favor donec.

In all discussions of this subject, dumque has been considered a hypothetical form. All agree, however, that the Romance adverbs presuppose *dunque or *dumque, and dunc beside dumque would be perfectly natural.

But dumque occurs in the Latin of practically every author from Plautus to Gellius. Ovid uses it more than sixty times. It is found not only as dum with the enclitic—que connecting it to the preceding clause, but also in late Latin often at the beginning of sentences or paragraphs, where a coordinating conjunction would be unnecessary. Petronius furnishes several instances. 16, 34 (Bücheler):—Cum et ipsi ergo pallidi rogaremus, quis esset, 'aperi' inquit, 'iam scies'. Dumque loquimur, sera sua sponte delapsa cecidit. 67,22;—Interim mulieres sauciae inter se riserunt ebriaque junxerunt oscula, dum altera diligentiam matris familiae jactat, altera delicias et indigentiam viri. Dumque sic cohaerent, Habinnas furtim consurrexit, pedesque Fortunatae correptos super lectum immisit. 74, 8:—Laceratus igitur ab illo doctissimo coco, qui paulo ante de porco aves piscesque fecerat, in cacabum est coniectus. Dumque Daedalus potionem ferventissimam haurit, Fortunata mola buxea piper trivit.

Altho Lindsay (Lat Lang p (609) fails to recognize in dunc the enclitic -que, he has really explained the origin of the form in discussing -que, p. 598:—"Through syncope, to which final e was always liable in Latin, it (-que) has become -c in nec, ac, etc., and probably often had this sound before an initial consonant in the rapid utterance of everyday life. In some lines of Plautus (Stich 696 Capt 246, Poen 419 etc) we must, if the reading of the MSS be right, scan dumq(ue) se exornat, etc".

Skutsch (Forsch Leipzig 1892 I pl 152) goes still further in suggesting this dumque as the original of the dunc found in the inscriptions. "Jedenfalls bestehen gegen ein dunq' (gesprochen dunc) nicht entfernt gleiche Bedenken. Es vergleichen sich nicht nur ac aus atque, nec aus neque, sondern auch quandoc und donec . . . Dunc kennen wir als eine volkstümliche Nebenform von dum aus späteren Inschriften. Ursprung aus dumque ist dafür viel wahrscheinlicher als donec, wie Zimmermann will".

Anyone familiar with the functions of dum and donec can have little doubt that this dunc in inscriptions represents dum. After the form dunc became common for the conjunction, it was perfectly natural that the adverb dum, which often approached

very near the meaning and functions of the conjunction, should assume the same form also and appear in Latin as dunc. The change was made easier—in fact, almost inevitable—by the kindred adverbs tunc and nunc, and was perhaps influenced somewhat by quandoc, donec, nec and ac.

We have, then, a consistent and well-substantiated course of development from the Latin adverb dum to the Romance adverbs donec and dunque. In the first place, we find dum followed by the enclitic -que as a coordinating conjunction from the time of Plautus, and sufficient evidence that the combination was pronounced dunq' before consonants. Later writers, Ovid in particular, often add -que merely for metrical reasons. Still later we find even in prose, in Petronius' Satyricon and elsewhere, dumque used practically in the sense of dum. Lastly as final evidence of the development of dunc from dum, we find in inscriptions of the Empire a conjunction dunc used in functions perfectly characteristic of dum.¹ It is probable that the adverbial dum, which in many functions closely resembled the conjunction, also had the form dunc, and that some of the instances of dunc in the inscriptions are adverbial. With the adverbial dunc we have practically reached French donec and Italian dunque.

In the conjunctive uses the very versatility of dum wrought its ruin. Beginning with the earliest period there is evident a gradually increasing tendency to differentiate the various conjunctive functions by supplementary defining particles,² such as interim or interea to mark the meaning 'while'; tantisper, tam diu, tantum, for 'so long as'; usque and ad eum finem for 'until'; and modo in the proviso clauses. When the language was transplanted to provincial soil, these temporal auxiliaries became indispensable and eventually completely usurped the function of dum, which then disappeared as a conjunction. From dum interea came early French demetier(e)s, later replaced by pendant que; from dum interim, old Italian domentre, later mentre; tam diu dum, tantum dum, dropped dum and became tandis, tant; usque dum, ad eum finem dum similarly gave jusque and à fin. By the end of the sixth century, dummodo was almost entirely replaced by modo ut or tantum ut.³ Donec and quoad also went overboard along with dum and were replaced by periphrastic phrases whose content was more evident.

While the ambiguity in the various functions of dum as a conjunction led to the disuse of those functions in colloquial language, the adverbial uses were more definite and too common to be lost, and so when the language suffered the metamorphosis into the Romance dialects thru the medium of the colloquial idiom, the adverbial function was the only one which survived intact as the Romance representative of the numerous dum constructions.

C R JEFFORDS

Eastern District High School
Brooklyn N Y

conj. (Etym. du lat. pop. *dumque, qui paraît être un renforcement de la particule dum, qui se trouve avec le sens de 'donc' dans agendum, etc., peut-être sous l'influence de tunc 'alors', ou de nunc 'maintenant'. . . ACAD. supprime donques en 1762. Xe s. dunc, Jonas.) Conjunction qui sert à amener la conséquence, la conclusion de ce qui précède".

¹ Cf. Engländer Archiv VI 467.

² Wölfflin, Zur Diff. d. Lat. Partikeln, Archiv X p 370.

³ Bonnet, Lat. de Greg. de Tours, p 319.